

Radio Ljubljana and its Music Policies 1928–1941

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Abstract

The main programming issue faced by Radio Ljubljana was connected to its function: was it a new medium basically intended for cultural advancement and democratic information distribution or was it a new medium primarily serving as an entertainment platform for different types of listener? The question had been one of the key topics from the beginnings of Radio Ljubljana's broadcasting in 1928. This paper discusses the answers to this question through an analysis of the musical programming from 1928 until the Luftwaffe destroyed Radio Ljubljana's transmitter in Domžale on April 11, 1941.

Keywords

Radio Ljubljana, musical practice, music between the 1920s and 1930s, music programming and broadcasting

Introduction

Jean-Luc Nancy noted the important distinction between listening and hearing: "If 'to hear' is to understand the sense [...], to listen is to be straining toward a possible meaning, and consequently one that is not immediately accessible" (Nancy 2007: 6). Radio was devised to cover both aspects of peoples' listening demands, the more *sensational* ones as well as the more *reflective* ones. However, the fascination with technology is just as important as the sensations and contents it produces, as indicated by the front covers of the first five weekly programme booklets of Radio Ljubljana – my main source for the analysis here of the broadcasting policy – confirming that the administration focused especially on technology, policies, musical issues, and culture (**Example 1**). In the following lines, I shall address the relation between the three topoi with regard to musical practice in Ljubljana from 1929 until the Luftwaffe destroyed the radio transmitter of Radio Ljubljana in Domžale on April 11, 1941.

The Third University

The very beginnings of Radio Ljubljana were tightly connected to an enlightening idea:

"The Education Union did not succeed in realizing its aspirations regarding establishing Krek's high school for a people's education in Ljubljana; but its section for education and programming, established in the Union for

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defining the programme guidelines of Radio Ljubljana, did set the people's university of the radio as a foundation of cultural programmes. Following the example of the people's universities in Denmark, the programme of Radio Ljubljana took great care about the education of the widest social strata" (Bezljaj-Krevel 1998: 80).

Praising Slovenian poets and writers and also mentioning the most avant-garde Slovenian composers of that time, Slavko Osterc and Emil Adamič, the Editorial of the first programme booklet of Radio Ljubljana ended with a solemn phrase:

"As is our University, our Radio is also a symbol of our freedom, a symbol of our cultural activities, a symbol of what is sacred to us, what a thousand years of our slavery did not manage to kill and what many traitors could not destroy – a symbol of *Slovenianhood*!

The cuckoo of our radio announces spring: The Slovenian nation has been threaded into an active circle of the family of the nations. [...]

Our Radio has here its grand mission!" (*Radio Ljubljana*, 19–25 May 1929/1: 2).

The function of the new medium was primarily educational (Cf. Bezljaj-Krevel 1998, Brojan 1999, Šarec 2005, Novak 2006: 46–7; Šarec 2007, 2010) and, in contrast to the governmental interests in the totalitarian political regimes of Slovenia as well as Croatia and Serbia, programmatically more dependent on the "complex cultural background" (Goslich 2016). Actually, Radio Ljubljana aimed to encompass, as a university does, the whole *universe* of activities anchored primarily in the ideals of national culture, indicating the enthusiasm with which the differentiation of the programme began to grow rather fast. After all, the radio was conceived with immense social engagement: "The radio is besides the press and film the third superpower of the modern period" ("Tisku in filmu se pridružuje kot tretja velesila moderne dobe še radio"; *Radio Ljubljana*, 19–25 May 1929/1: 2). Its activities were underpinned with a weekly programme booklet that claimed to fulfil two tasks:

"[1] The original task of this weekly booklet is to bring the *programmes* of the Yugoslav and extracts of the foreign broadcasting stations. To this, one should add its cultural task: *introducing* the programmes of the domestic and the other two Yugoslav broadcasting stations [... with] regular columns for *language courses* for enabling the listeners to easily follow the speaker, for they will already have a printed text in front of themselves that almost ensures full success.

[2] The second task is fetching the news regarding the *broadcasting technique* as exhaustive as possible [...]" (Ibid).

However, both issues, cultural and technological, proved to be rather more elaborate than the announcement suggests. During the first years, educational topoi were focused on

“four complexes: health [actually: body & hygiene], knowledge of nature, history and economy, spiritual goods, such as music, art, philosophy and religion. In this part feminist issues were also included. And already from the start the tourist propaganda lectures were introduced” (Bezljaj-Krevel 1998: 80).

The policy remains virtually the same as today’s BBC mission to “inform, educate and entertain”;² there is only a shift of emphasis in today’s mission of RTV Slovenija. According to §. 1 of ZRTVS-1 of 15. 6. 2005,³ RTV Slovenia today tries to “meet the citizens’ democratic, social and cultural necessities” (“zagotavljanja demokratičnih, socialnih in kulturnih potreb državljanov”). One notices immediately that the “spiritual goods” – for instance lectures by prominent intellectuals of that time or language courses – had already changed in the 1930s. If there had been five language courses in the first year, ten years later only two were left, one of them being the Slovene language for Slovenes (Bezljaj-Krevel 1988: 80).

If today three complementary programmes offer different contents to listeners,⁴ until 1951 the entire programme had to suit the needs of the growing population of a radio audience. Also, music – still the major phenomena in radio quotas – aimed to satisfy the expectations of the widest possible circle. The proclamatory tone of the initial musical policy of Radio Ljubljana read:

“Drafting and choosing the [musical] programme we aspire, as far as it is possible, to meet the expectations of each subscriber. The evening of serious, art music is followed by an evening of light, merrier, dance music from different historical periods and different national backgrounds, which is sometime also divided with respect to the musical forms (a night of waltzes, overtures, etc.). To comply with the expectations of the slim audiences that prefer to listen to our domestic music [domačo glasbo], we programme Slovenian music as domestic as possible, and we can say that it was precisely Radio Ljubljana that carried the charm of our Slovenian song throughout the world. At the same time we aspire to produce the songs of our brother Croats and Serbs” (Radio Ljubljana, 19–25 May 1929/1: 7).

The main difficulty was in the changing expectations of all subscribers and the possibilities to meet these: their number and expectation profiles changed fairly quickly.

From an Idealistic (Educational) to a Pragmatic Medium

The motto of the radio transmitting, “primarily educational meaning” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 26 June – 1 July, 1929/2: 1), is considered fairly relevant at the beginning, when the broadcasting-time ranged from approximately 10.00 to 22.00. As Pero Horn writes:

² http://www.bbc.co.uk/corporate2/insidethebbc/whoweare/mission_and_values (accessed 1 May, 2016).

³ <http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200596&stevilka=4191> (accessed 1 May, 2016).

⁴ The Second programme (Val 202) started with real-time news in December 1951, the Third programme (Program Ars) with 3 hours per day in 1969.

“Radio is, simply, an eminent spreader of culture and its gains. Radio is a culture carrier [kulturonosec] that does not distinguish between the social classes or between the poor and the rich; it utters, freely and easily, the truth to all. It is precisely for this reason that radio is a real peoples’ college [ljudska visoka šola] in the highest and most ideal meaning of the word. As a college that may have an influence on all, including the lowest layers of the nation, it is a real people’s necessity; radio paved its secure way into the world for this reason” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 13–19 October, 1929/22: 1).

In November 1929 the educational zeal had already stirred up a debate about the possibility of using radio in primary and secondary schools, although practical reasons prevented that (*Radio Ljubljana*, 8–14 December, 1929/30: 1; Šarec 2007 and 2010). However, the programming was defined and directed by the educational-programming sector; between 1928 and 1933 and again from 1936 to 1945 it was ideologically connected to the Catholic *Prosvetna zveza*, whereas from 1930 the state gained jurisdictional control of the Radio’s technical activities as well as its programming ones (*Radio Ljubljana*, 28 March 1930/9: 2). Among the members of the board there were

“also a representative of the Slovenian university, [theologian] Mr. Prof. Dr. Fr.[anc] K.[saver] Lukman, while the president is [historian and politician] Mr. dr. Karel Capuder. The work in individual sections is run by special referees. The referee for education is run by [teacher and theologian] Mr. V.[inko] Zor, referee for music Mr. A.[nton] Dolinar⁵, referee for theatre [literary critic] Mr. F.[rance] Koblar (with the help of the producer Mr. M.[ilan] Skrbinšek (*Radio Ljubljana*, 26 June – 1 July 1929/2: 1)

As the number of subscribers grew rapidly from 2,030 in 1928 to 5,862 in April 1929 (*Ibid*), it reached 25.000 in 1941⁶. An even more substantial growth of subscribers was expected (**Example 2**).

The contents of the broadcasting began to blossom, respecting the expectations of the main subscribers: in 1929 they comprised 30.7% clerks and 31.7% merchants and craftsman. The idea was to bring radio to every

⁵ Theologian and musicologist, Dolinar composed the lieder of the Pevska zveza (a choir association), was the editor of the journal *Pevec*, he led the choir Ljubljana as well as the female choir of the Lyceum. He remained in this function till 1945.

⁶ Novak 2006: 47. The beginners’ enthusiasm may be indicated by the fact that “[f]rom September 1 1928 to October 15 1929, 2420 hours of broadcasting were realized, this is 1495 more than the legal obligation demanded. In this sum there were 1377 hours of music, more than 1007 hours more than requested with the contract.” And besides, the number in the Subscribers book of Radio Ljubljana for the years 1924–1930 ends with the number 9576 – many of them cancelled their subscription; whereas the Subscribers book 1930–1932 ends with the number 17017. (The books are kept by the Music department of Ljubljana’s National and University Library.) The truth regarding the radio receiver is probably somewhere in between the official numbers and the bookkeeping inscriptions of the radio receiver owners.

household around the state (*Radio Ljubljana*, 20–26 September 1929/23: 1), although at the beginning of the 1940s radio receivers were still too expensive for peasants and workers (cf. *Radio Ljubljana*, 9–15 March 1941/11: 5), while Japan supposedly even introduced the first colour-TV broadcasts on a regular basis (Ibid: 9). Nonetheless, by July 1929 a note regarding “all-user-friendly” musical programming was announced – a note indicating one of the priorities undermining the initial radio policy in the direction of programming according to “listeners’ wishes”. It reads as follows:

“From all around, we receive requests for as frequent broadcasting of Slovenian folk or folk-like songs as possible” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 7–13 July 1929/8: 6).

Similar broadcasts opened the main door to listeners’ requests and developed in two stylistic directions: toward popular *šlager* music as well as toward folk music:

“Friday evening is entitled: *A merry evening* with the accordion virtuoso Mr. [Avgust] Stanko [1903–1976] and Schlager-singer Mr. [Mirko] Premelč; the Radio orchestra contributes light music. [...] singers will sing from [the village] Krška vas at Cerklje, Dolenjska. Such performances of provincial singers are interesting and important in many respects: many so far unknown songs are discovered, the sense for singing culture among people grows, etc.” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 21 July–27 August 1929/11: 7).

At the same time, the wish for “house performers” – music produced and reproduced at Radio Ljubljana – grew in importance, since the majority of the programme did not. The cover page of the programme list in August 1929 (*Radio Ljubljana*, 4–10 August 1929/12: 7) introduces a band consisting of 10 (11 according to Novak 2006: 50) people. This was the *Radio Orchestra* led by Kazimir Petrič that shrank to a saloon quintet in 1932 and expanded again in 1933, this time with Danijel Grum. In 1925 he was succeeded by the most prolific and skilled conductor Drago Mario Šijanec,⁷ who successfully directed the Radio orchestra as well as the Ljubljanska filharmonija⁸ until 1945. Also, several other performing groups were established, such as the *Radio [String] Quartet*, the *Slovenian Vocal Quintet*, a *Chamber trio/quartet/quintet*, a *Brass quintet*, and a *Brandl trio* (**Example 3**).

⁷ Selected among 13 applicants (Vinko Šuštaršič, Josip Raha-Rajhenič, Karlo Tarter, Filip Bernard, Josip Poula, Bogomir Leskovic, Josip Hladek-Bohinjski, Štefan Gojznikar, Danijel Grum, Marijan Kozina, Josip Čerin, Blaž Arnič) by a jury of 7 prominent musicians (Julij Betetto, Stanko Premrl, L. M. Škerjanc, Vilko Ukmar, Anton Neffat, Anton Dolinar).

⁸ The situation with the orchestra was described by Samo Hubad in *Sobotna priloga Dela*, 14 June, 1975: 22: “Before the war, we had two permanent orchestras in Ljubljana: Opera and Radio. Philharmony, then we had Ljubljanska filharmonija, was only a legal subject [pravna oseba] that managed to organize symphonic concerts with huge efforts of the organizers (Rupel, Bravničar, Stanič) gathering the musicians from around”.

The growing number of performers went hand in hand with a growing number – or rather branching out – of views regarding the radio's mission, which soon attracted political interest. In 1933, new centralist politics began to grow stronger and also took over the programming of Radio Ljubljana. The result was a new programme booklet *Naš val*,⁹ commanded from and printed in Belgrade, published from 1934 to 1940, with aspirations to take the lead and oust the existent programme booklet *Radio Ljubljana*. Although both journals combined by the end of the thirties, the introduction of the second journal indicates the reverberations of political frictions in the entire culture as well as in musical taste.

The many activities and endeavours demanded new reflection on the initial ideals of the broadcasting policy in the middle of the 1930s. The need to restructure the entire Radio Ljubljana broadcasting system was discussed in three consecutive issues of *Radio Ljubljana* during the Advent of 1935. The engineer "A. Št." started the debate (*Radio Ljubljana*, 17 October, 1935, 26/7: 1–2; 24 November, 1935, 27/7: 1–2) ascertaining:

"The programme committees so far have met only sporadically and then they in haste cobbled the programme to fulfil all the quotas for a makeshift radio programme. The spirit of originality was missing and the original continuity, the connection with the high matters of the broadcastings from the world around was [also] missing" (*Radio Ljubljana*, 24 November, 1935, 27/7: 1–2).

Niko Kuret took over the debate, offering a well differentiated plan to improve the administrative as well as programme activities of Radio Slovenia. The following programme division was suggested by this influential ethnologist and person of notable cultural stature, at the beginning also the editor of the radio booklet *Radio Ljubljana*: "It is a necessity to divide [the programme] through at least five activities, for: 1. Education, 2. Music, 3. Entertainment, 4. For the youth and 5. Propaganda" (*Radio Ljubljana*, 1 December, 1935, 28/7: [3]).

What days cannot recognize and only years reveal is that three sets of issues reverberate strongly from Kuret's categorical division and these continue until today: the cultural/educational level, entertainment, and economic/propaganda share. What were the relations between them and how were the quotas distributed accordingly?

A more detailed explanation following this elaboration of the division offers a telling detail regarding the overall shift of emphasis from the previously rather plainly stated enlightening mission toward a more pragmatically understood *compound* or *integrative* cultural medium. Two statements reveal this shift clearly, especially since they were both made by Niko Kuret, one in 1930 the other five years later:

⁹ The journal is available in the National and University Library Ljubljana under DS II 60219, 1934–1940.

“due to a historically conditioned social development, there is an abyss between high art and the perception of a common man. This abyss is bigger than it should be, because it is, of course, unbridgeable. [...]

The Slovenian Radio wishes to be a compromise. It wishes to remain close to the people. Once again: it is rightly so.

But exactly this is its main problem. A huge amount of intelligence and flexibility is needed, the management needs good insight into the contemporaneity and the national growth to keep the right course” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 6–12 April, 1930/14: 2–3).

The “right course” demanded “intelligence and flexibility” from the programme managers to remain *popular* in the basic sense of the word; within five years *of the people* shifted the emphasis from the idealistic *educational* and *informative* function of the radio toward a more pragmatic course. In 1935, Niko Kuret pointed to the *pragmatic* function of the radio as a personal – intimate – instrument for sociability:

“3. *Entertainment*. The secret of the German radio lies in the simple fact that the leadership has recognized the truth, according to which radio is not an industry of lectures and concerts, but a device that has to become an organic part of each citizen’s everyday life. That’s why it has to suit his needs and wishes, has to take into account his life, which is at 90% the life of a worker. The Radio programme has to offer, then, at least 50% of cheerfulness and entertainment [vedrosti in zabave]” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 1 December, 1935, 28/7: [4]).

Within seven years of its existence, then, the radio’s policy had shifted from an idealistic toward a pragmatic logic (by 1930 accepting advertisements on the front cover of the programme booklet of Radio Ljubljana). The categorical idealism resounding from 1930 grew pale: “radio is nowadays the strongest propaganda tool for culture as well as for non-culture. It is a task of critics to allow only culture to enter” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 6–12 April, 1930, 2/14: 1).

The notion of the radio as “one of the greatest Slovenian cultural gains [...] with a primarily educational mission” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 26 May – 2 June, 1929, 1/2: 1), and the notion of Radio Ljubljana as the “real people’s university” (*Ibid*: 2) stumbled upon the problem of the “small culture”, as Niko Kuret wrote in April 1930 in the editorial (*Radio Ljubljana*, 6–12 April, 1930, 2/14: 2). The thorny position in which one has to search for an equilibrium between education and entertainment – between the high and the low, the utilitarian and the autonomous, the pragmatic and the conceptual – was growing more difficult the more the new technology was spreading among the users.

Acting or Reacting? The Musical Activities of Radio Ljubljana

In 1935, the programming flexibility of Radio Ljubljana may be illustrated nicely with the words of the new conducting star, Drago Mario Šijanec. He introduced his views on the music programme connected to the radio, which may still function as a paragon for music culture under public jurisdiction. His idea is an enlightening one. He sees his undertaking as anchored in the motto *Do not be afraid of classical music!*:

“You should not think that the Radio will become a society for modern music. Our programme shall offer to the listeners *good art of all periods and all [stylistic] directions*. A cycle of popular debates should be introduced, for better understanding, in which good pedagogues would teach the listeners in a light manner: what is a symphony, what are opuses, cantatas, movements, etc. Such a cycle should be given under a motto: *Do not be afraid of classical music!*” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 1 December, 1935, 7/28): [4].

The idea of music education resounds in different versions throughout the radio's broadcasting history, as Šarec shows (2005, 2007, 2010). The Radio Ljubljana booklet paid special attention to its educational mission, and up to the very beginning of WW II the writings of Niko Kuret especially reveal a clear consciousness about the necessity to educate people, especially young people (cf. for instance *Radio Ljubljana*, 12–18 November, 1939, 9/46: 1–3). The weekly programme booklet offered useful information regarding the arts, among them classical topoi of the *Konzertführer* culture, including also music-theoretical contributions about musical form, while contemporary composers feature prominently. The administration remained faithful to this enlightening vocation. In 1939 Radio Ljubljana still held the position of an institution that (especially because of the introduction of the live symphonic music performances regularly from 1935):

“exercises a high cultural and educational mission, and in spite of the shallowness of the era the number of those who love and understand art music is growing. Thus, the radio should be a school for understanding of art music, the accomplishments in this field may be expected also through simple lectures on bigger [musical] forms given in a clear manner.

Then the yawning and criticism regarding art music will cease and it will be loved by all as any other music, just as it is abroad. From this environment, our future great Slovenian symphonist will emerge, who will decently represent us to the whole world” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 12–18 November, 1939, 9/46: 6).

The last two quotations are full of future conditionals, which indicates the formal status of the uttered ideas. Moreover, the main technical novelty – the television – should be added for a clearer picture of the radio's educational potentials. By the end of the thirties, when the film had already taken over common cultural attention (hardly any pictures came to the front page of *Radio Ljubljana* other than ones connected to certain movies!) television was seen as a medium that “will unite four problems – film, radio, opera and theatre” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 16–22 March, 1941, 13/12: 6).

Although such predictions were never fulfilled, arts and music alike were subjected to a constant draft regarding their position within social life as well as within the media. By the end of the thirties, the programme of Radio Ljubljana consisted of approximately 40% music. For instance, in 1938 music comprised 780 radio hours, which amounted to 36.7% of all broadcasting activities. And the structure was dispersed through the following genres: 2.6% opera, 0.7% operetta, 6.6% classical music, 14.1% light music, 8.5% folk music and 4.2% dance music (Novak 2006: 56) – a distribution that seems far from trivial. Even browsing through the programmes of the late 1930s and early 1940s, one tends to admire the alertness with which music is dealt with, regardless of genre differences. From classical to contemporary, national repertoire to popular, dance music genres to spiritual/church music: the programmes speak in favour of a delicate balance between pragmatic possibilities and educational philosophy. In spite of this, a note from the programme booklet of Spring 1941 reveals the position of music already hinted at:

“It is a well-known fact to everybody that the radio brought music to the widest strata of the nation. Today everyone can hear over the airwaves the most profound artworks of the great masters in performances that match almost entirely those in the concert halls; these compositions were before the introduction of the radio accessible only to a very small circle of people. However, a question arises: did the diffusion of the musical art among all folk strata coincide with the growth of common musical education and did the understanding for musical works of art grow at the same time? We all know that this is not the case: everything that does not fit into the frame of folk or dance music is being rejected [...]” (*Radio Ljubljana*, 9–15 March, 1941, 13/11: 2).

A sober sense regarding the listening practice indicates that music was gaining in importance: in 1929, 622 hours of music out of around 1,900 (1851) hours in total to 1,204 hours of music out of a total of around 1,600 (2518; **Example 4**). Some of the contents shifted as the Second World War was extending. However, music remained similarly distributed a month before the bombing of Belgrade, as the programme of Radio Ljubljana indicates for instance on Tuesday 11 March, 1940, during a common working day (**Example 5**). It seems that the music had four different levers of coding into the programme, four approaches to the “dramaturgy” of the broadcasting enterprise for the programmers (**Example 6**). On one hand, the medium by which it was reproduced seems decisive: the oval marks in the programme booklet for March 11, 1941 indicate gramophone broadcasts that offered 70 minutes of music, the squared surface points related to live concerts of the Radio Ljubljana Orchestra that entertained listeners for about 135 minutes, whereas stars beside the columns indicated chamber and soloist live concerts that offered together 85 minutes of music. Reproduction technology also dictated to a certain degree the programme: recording was very limited in Radio Ljubljana¹⁰ in the 1930s, thus recordings are mainly of German and Czech composers.

¹⁰ Beside the short historical survey offered on the <http://www.rtvsl.si/razgodovina/frameset.htm>, the history of recording in Slovenia is offered in *Traditiones*, 43/2 (1914), <http://isn.zrc-sazu.si/index.php?q=sl/node/419> (accessed 1 May, 2016).

On the other hand, the musical programming tended to lean on general cultural and political issues, such as archetypal descriptions such as north-south, east-west, or other more axiological binary oppositions: the noon-and-evening-concerts for the gramophone streaming reveal a telling care about the German/Slavic balancing; the noon concert offered a military brass band music by composers of mainly German provenience, while the afternoon session was predominantly featured by the “brother Slavs”.

The symphonic music performances do not indicate the same ideology, but seem to stick to the older/newer music: the noon concert is based on classical repertory, the evening concert offers some music that at least nominally comes closer to the 20th century, Giacomo Puccini being unquestionably the first among the modern classics.

A further differentiation of the music programme may be seen by nationality. Both soloist performances – the chamber music concert (flute and piano) at 18.00 and the piano recital (21.15) offer a balance between the international and the national musical heritage, as well as old/modern music (still notable in today’s Radio broadcast programming). Marta Osterc Valjalo, the wife of the most ambitious avant-gardist of the period, Slavko Osterc (who died two months after this concert), performed Matija Tomc (1899–1986), a composer whose avantgardism may be disputed today. However, his historical stature indicates that he featured as a national and modern counterpart to the more classical, in the romanticism anchored composers performed by Slavko Korošec and Marijan Lipovšek earlier that evening: both pieces, the *Sweedisches Concert* by Wilhelm Popp (1828–1903) and the *Bosnian Rhapsody* by Rudolf Tillmetz (1847–1915) were at least formally not modern music but *classical* in their romantic style at its best.

The fourth approach to music programming is the most elemental: from-the-light-to-the-more-advanced-music logic is the foundation of the entire musical programming. The marches to wake up with and the contemporary regional artist to reflect the current position in time and space seem the most unquestionable direction of a daily programming dramaturgy.

It seems notable that the general benefit of the “programmes and services that inform, educate and entertain”, as the mission of the BBC reads,¹¹ brought about a process of “everydayification and boundary dissolution” and dislocation (Ayaß 2012: 5) that still reverberates in the axiological quandaries regarding the arts. As an advertisement in Radio Ljubljana reads (**Example 7**): the radio offers the fastest way to receive the news, and it educates as well as entertains. But at the same time, the diction that the radio offers the “cheapest artistic enjoyment” implies some cultural goods and bads alike. The cultural goods may be seen in the fact that all four above-sketched levers of programming have retained their validity in current programming policy (also) of Radio Slovenia: the oppositions, such as live/recorded, classical/modern, national/international, light/artistic are but a fundamental set of complementary concepts that have a rich history of transformation in broadcasting history because they are easily detectable and their proportions may be easily shifted in favour of one or another content. The cultural bads of the easily arrangeable programme, however, may emerge out of the fuzzy directions in which the radio broadcasting is growing stronger, at

¹¹ http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whoweare/mission_and_values (accessed 1 June, 2016).

least nominally (cf. Leiler Kos 2014: 44), whereas there is no clear concept for the development of the programmes. The national strategy for the media is still in the process of preparation, although the majority of broadcasting frequencies were already leased out in the years after Slovenia gained political independence (Hrvatín 2007). In this respect, the “cheapest artistic enjoyment” – as positively as it was accepted still decades after the WW II – may echo as a somewhat less prudent idea in the period where cultural economy teaches that nothing is cheap.

P.S.

Perhaps the main difference seems to be in the lack of focus of the radio today as an educational medium: if the interwar period was founded on education-information-entertainment, radio today seems to have shifted the emphasis in the direction of information-and-entertainment-culture. The main objectives (“programske vsebine”) of the non-commercial media in the national interest, defined as:¹²

- public information
- plurality and diversity of the media
- preservation of the Slovenian national and cultural identity
- stimulating the cultural creativity in the field of media
- culture of public dialogue
- strengthening of the juridical and social state
- development of education and science,

were recently criticized as:

- “being too concentrated on the right to be informed (that has the same meaning in the information era) [...]”
- it stresses too much the plurality of media space [...] which says nothing about its quality [...]
- it contains abstract goals that at least in the field of media are not attainable (culture of public dialogue, strengthening of the juridical and social state, development of education and science)
- ignoring the meaning of qualitative programme contents, especially those that are commercially less interesting”.¹³

Although it is difficult to imagine at what quality the critics are hinting, it is not difficult at all to realize the reiterated stance, according to which

“the current definition of the public interest causes big trouble regarding the distribution of public subventions [...], because it is not possible to measure its effects”.¹⁴

¹² *Pregled medijske krajine v Sloveniji, april 2014*: 55, cf. also 56–8.
http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/raziskave-analize/mediji/2014/medijska_krajina_v_sloveniji_16042014.pdf (accessed 3 December, 2014).

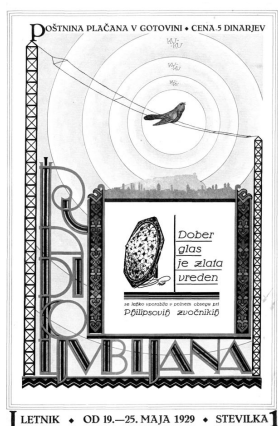
¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6

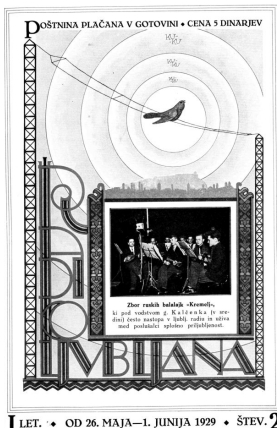
The issue on quantification of the “effects” hinted at by a certain vaguely defined *quality* seems promising. Yet it is rather difficult to grasp its meaning – it is much more evasive than the ideas of the radio as the “third university”, which was so substantial for the first decade of Radio Ljubljana.

Example 1. The front pages of the weekly journal *Radio Ljubljana*, Year I, 1929, Nos. 1, 2, and 5.

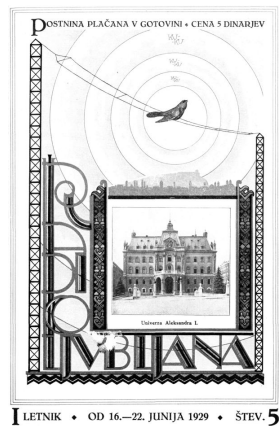
“technology” / “policies”



“music”



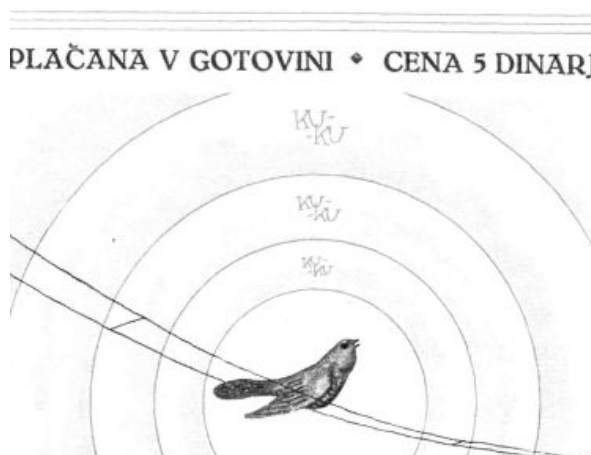
“culture”



Example 2. *Radio Ljubljana*, 9–15 March, 1941, XIII/11: 1: “The number of radio subscribers in Slovenia until now and in the future”. The blacked line on the curve indicates the number of subscribers that were paying for the service, the whitened part of the line indicates the prediction regarding the number of subscribers.



Example 3. Radio Orchestra. Picture from the weekly programme 4–10. August, 1929/12.



Example 4. Bezljaj-Krevel 1998: 80 offers the following programme comparison:

	1929 (number of hours)	1940 (number of hours)		1929 (number of hours)	1940 (number of hours)
Opera music	40	121	National minutes	-	116
Operetta music	32	20	Foreign language courses	13	10
Classical music	170	248	Stock market and trade	71	78
Light music	245	423	Newspaper clippings	79	320
Folk music	95	260	Mass	61	65
Dance music	40	132	Special and real- time broadcasts	380	86
Drama	21	46	Children's corner	21	48
Comedy	12	58	Women only	18	19
Reading from books or poetry	8	6	Morning exercise	30	-
Educational lectures	230	200	School hour	62	64
For farmers	-	30	For the young people	-	33
Lectures about the society	90	89	Weather forecast	72	46

Example 5. Programme of the Radio Ljubljana on 11 March, 1941.

7.00: Good morning.

7.05: Announcements and news.

7.15: A garland of cheerful sounds from the gramophone (to 7.45)

12.00: Brass-band music (gramophone):

Dostal [Hermann or Nico?]: Volga, march.

Ziehreer [Karl Michael]: The Regiment's Father, march.

Schönherr [Max?]: From the Slavic Places.

Dolinar Bernard: Morning Dawn.

Lidzki [Ludwik]: A Garland of Legionar Songs.

12.30: News, announcements.

13.00: Announcements.

13.02: Midday Concert of the Radio Orchestra:

Mozart [W. A.]: The Abduction from the Seraglio, overture,

arr. Schreiner [Adolf]: From Gluck to Wagner [ein chronologisches Potpourri], assortment of melodies.

Praveček [Jindřich senior]: Golden Youth, intermezzo.

Tchaikovsky [P. I.]: Fantasy from his opera Eugene Onegin.

Wetzel [Karl Friedrich Gottlob?]: Love Letters, waltz.

14.00: News.

14.15: School time: The Alphabet — Janko loves to go to school. — Dialog with singing (led by Mr. Janko Sicherl) until 15.00.

17.30: From the Czech operettas (gramophone):

Jankovec [Jaroslav]: I Sing To You Only.

When the Spring Arrives, from the operetta *Brandejsští dragouni*.

Jankovec: Cockoo. Dewy Goblet, from the operetta *Kukacka*.

Jankovec: Moon Over The River. My Gondola, from the operetta *Nám je hej*.

Hašler [Karel]: You, Beautiful Eyes, from the operetta *Dcera druhé Roty*. It is the same, from the homonymous operetta. The Artilleryman, from the operetta *Dělostřelec*.

18.00: Flute concerto (Mr. Slavko Korošec) accompanied by the pianist Marijan Lipovšek: Popp [Wilhelm]: Swedisches Concert (Allegro, Andante, Allegro). Til[.]metz [Rudolf]: Bosnian Rhapsody.

18.40: Russian Empire under Romanov Family (Mr. Franc Tersegglav).

19.00: Announcements, news.

19.25: National hour: Ljubljana Speaks. Fran Maselj Podlimbarski — the storyteller and national martyr (Mr. Rudolf Dostal).

19.40: Gramophone music.

19.50: Educational Consulting (Mrs. Vida Peršuh)

20.00: Concert of the Radio Orchestra:

Kreutzer [Conradin]: Overtura to the opera *Das Nachtlager in Granada*.

Grieg [E.]: Suite for strings in old style op. 40: 1. Prelude, 2. Sarabanda, 3. Gavotte, 4. Aria, 5. Rigaudon.

Vilhar [Miroslav]: *Jamska Ivanka*, music from the Singspiel.

Friml [Rudolf]: *I Am Only Dreaming*.

Puccini [G.]: Fantasy, from the opera *La Tosca*.

21.15: Piano concerto by Mrs. Marta Osterc-Valjalo:

Tomc [Matija]: Suite in three movements (Varijacije — Juga — Molitev — Andantino — Valček — Etuda — Koračnica).

22.00: Announcements, news.

End at 22.20.

Example 6. Music Programme: distribution of genres. Radio Ljubljana, 9–15 March, 1941, 13/11: 17.

hka glasba. 18.30 Predavanje o narodni pesmi. 18.50 ○ 19.15 ●. 19.25 Pisan druž. 20. Koncert. 20.15 Švicarske pesmi. 20.30 Predavanje o bilogiji 17. in 18. stol. 20.50 Oddaja za izseljence. 21.45 ●.

ŠVEDSKE POSTAJE

7.20 Telovadba. 7.45 Jutranje bogoslužje. 8. Napovedi. Poročila. 12 Zvonjenje. 13 Šolska oddaja. 12.30 ●. Napovedi. 13 Šolska oddaja. 14.30 Branje. 17.05 Gl. predavanje. 17.40 ○. 18.30 Reportaža. 19 ●. 19.30 Zborov. ●. 20 Predavanje. 20.30 Simfonična glasba. 21.45 Predavanje. 22 ●.

VATIKAN

(kratkovalovna)
Čas oddaj: 12 (italijanski čas) = 11 (srednjeevropski čas) = 10 (čas po Greenwichu) = 5 (ameriški čas - New York).

19.54 m - 15.120 kc; 25.55 m - 11.740 kc; 31.06 m - 9.666 kc; 48.47 m - 6.190 kc

2 Oddaja za Brazilijo v portugalsčini (na valu 19.84 m). 2.30 Oddaja za Srednjo Ameriko v špan. (na valu 19.84 m). 3 Oddaja za Južno Ameriko v španščini (na valu 19.84 m). 3.30 Oddaja za Severno Ameriko v angleščini (na valu 2.55 m). 4 Oddaja za Severno Ameriko v litvanščini (na valu 25.55 m). 15 Oddaja za Evropo v italijanščini (na valu 31.06 m). 20 Oddaja za Evropo v francosčini (na valu 48.47 m). 20.15 Oddaja za Evropo v ukrajin. (na valu 48.47 m). 20.30 Oddaja za Evropo v italijanščini (na valu 48.47 m). 20.45 Oddaja za Evropo v nemščini (na valu 48.47 m). 21 Oddaja za Evropo v španščini (na valu 48.47 m).

BEOGRAD II.

6.45 ●. Napovedi. 7 Jutranji koncert. 7.45 Časopisni pregled. 8 Oddaja za Avstralijo in Novo Zelandijo. 13.30 Radionevnik. 13.50 ● v francosčini. 14 Koncert (Radio Beograd). 14.40 ●. 19 ● jugoslovanske glasbe. 19.10 ●. Napovedi. 19.20 Nacionalna ura. 19.40 ● v slovenščini. 19.50 Albanska ura. 20.05 Oddaja v grščini. 20.20 Oddaja v turščini. 20.35 Oddaja v rumunščini. 20.50 Oddaja v madžarsčini. 21.05 Oddaja v nemščini. 21.20 Koncert. 21.40 ●. 21.55 ● v francosčini. 22.10 ● v italijanščini. 22.25 ● v angleščini. 22.40 ●. 23.55 Oddaja za Južno Ameriko (Y U F 16.69 m 15.240 kc). 03.00 Oddaja za Severno Ameriko (YUG 19.69 m 15.240 kc).

ZAGREB 276.2-1086 0.7 kw

7.30 ○. ●. Napovedi. ○ 12 Zvonjenje, nato ● RO. 12.45 ●. 13 Plošče po željah. 13.55 ●. 16.30 Poglavje iz novejših hrvaških književnosti. 17 ●. 17.15 Pevski ●. Eleonore Huml. 17.30 Pjesni RO. 18 Istrske in primorske pesmi in dvespevi. 19.05 ●. Napovedi. 19.25 Nacionalna ura. 19.40 Italijanščina. 20 Rezervirano za prenos.

BRNO 922-325.4 32 kw

5.10 do 7. Praga. 9.10 Šolska oddaja. 9.35 Praga. 11.30 M. Ostrava. 12.30 Pisan koncert. 14.50 Praga. 16.15 Predavanje o zvezdah. 16.30 J. Kune. Soneta za gosli in klavir. op. 22 17.10 Laska glasba. 17.05 Praga. 19 Predavanje. 19.20 Uvod v prenos. 19.25 W. A. Mozart: »Idomeo kralj Kreta«. (II. delj.). 20.30 Klavirski koncert Lisztovih skl. 21 Praga.

PRAGA 470.2-852.5 120 kw

5.10 Jutranja oddaja. 9 Poročila. 9.10 Šolska oddaja. 9.45 ženska ura. Nato ob 10 Starejša plesna glasba. 11.15 ●. 11.30 M. Ostrava. 12.45 ○. 13 Nemška oddaja. 13.45 Koncert zabavne glasbe. 14.50 ●. 15 Plesna glasba (○). 15.30 Otroška ura. 15.45 Pisan sporod. 16.15 Predavanje o jeziku čimarijev. 16.30 Dvoški: Godalni kvartet v Es-duru, op. 29. 17 Brno. 18 ●. 18.20 Zabavni koncert. 19.20 Pisan koncert. 19.50 Predavanje. 20.05 B. Vonačka: Čuvaj svetilnika. Balada o mornarju. Dramska kantata op. 24 za soli, mešani zbor in veliki orkester. 21 Napovedi. ●. 21.30 ○. 22.30 Koncert češke glasbe: 1) Jirák: Prebujenje, op. 27. 2) Dvořák: Simfonija v d-duru, op. 60, št. I.

SOFIJA 352.9-850 100 kw

6 Budnica. Jutranji pozdrav. 6.05 Cert ur telovadbe. 6.20 ●. 6.30 Pisan ●. 6.55 Kolerar. 7 Laska glasba. 11 ● lahke glasbe. 11.30 Predavanje. 11.45 ○. 12.15 ●. 12.35 ○. 12.50 Laska in plesna gl. 17.30 Družnaka ura. 18 Laska in plesna glasba. 18.30 Oddaja za Dobrudžo. 18.45 Predavanje. 19 RO. 19.30 ●. 19.50 Laska glasba. 20 Musorgski: Slike z razstave. 20.30 Pevski ●. 21 Klavirski ●. 21.30 Laska glasba. 21.45 ●. 22 Plesna glasba.

ANKARA 1648-182 kc 7 kw

Na valu 19.74 in 15.195 kc, 20 kw. 9 Glasba. 9.15 ● v turščini. 9.30 Glas-

Torek 11. marca

LJUBLJANA 569-527 5.6 kw

7.00: Jutranji pozdrav.

7.05: Napovedi, poročila.

7.15: Pisan venček veselih zvokov plošče (do 7.45).

12.00: Godba na pihala (plošče): Dostal: Volga, koračnica. Zieheer: Polkov oče, koračnica. Schönberr: Iz slovenskih krajev. Dolinar Bernard: Jutranja zarja. Lidzki: Venček legionarskih pesni. Eisenberg: Parada straže.

12.30: Poročila, objave.

13.00: Napovedi.

13.02: Opoldanski koncert Radijskega orkestra: Mozart: Beg iz Serailja, uvertura. arr. Schreiner: Od Glucka do Wagnerja, izbor melodij. Praveček: Zlata mladost, intermezzo. Čajkovskij: Fantazija iz op. »Eugen Onegin«. Wetzel: Ljubavna pisma, valček.

14.00: Poročila.

14.15: Šolska ura: Abecede — Janko rad v šolo gre. — Dvogovor s petjem (vodi g. Janko Sacherl) do 15. ure.

15.20: Iz čeških operet (plošče):

Jankovec: Pojem samo vam. Ko pomlad priče, iz opte. »Bran-deški konjeniki.

Jankovec: Kukavica.

Rosna čaša, iz opte. »Kukavica.

Jankovec: Meseč nad reko.

Moja gondola, iz opte. »Nam je heje.

Hašler: Ve krasne oči, iz operet.

»Deca druge Roty.

Saj je to vaeeno, iz istoimenske operete.

Forničar, iz istoimenske operete.

8.00: Koncert na flauti (g. Slavko Korošec) ob spremljevanju klavirja (g. prof. M. Lipovek):

Opp: Švedski koncert.

(Allegro, Andante, Allegro).

Tilmetz: Bosanska rapsodija.

18.40: Rusko cerstvo pod Romanovi (g. Fr. Terseglav).

19.00: Napovedi, poročila.

19.25: Nacionalna ura: Ljubljana govori. Fran Maselj Podlimbarski — pripovednik in narodni mučnik (g. Rudolf Dostal).

19.40: Plošče.

19.50: Vsega posvetovalnica (gospa Vida Persuh).

20.00: Koncert Radijskega orkestra:

Kreutzer: Uvertura k op. »Noč v Granadi«.

Grieg: Suita v starem stilu za godalni orkester:

1. Preludij. 2. Sarabanda.

3. Gavota. 4. Arija. 5. Rigaudon.

Vilhar: Jamska Ivanka, glasba spevoigre.

Priml: Sanjarija.

Puccini: Fantazija iz opere »La Tosca«.

20.15: Klavirski koncert ge. Martić Oster-Valjalo:

Rome: Suita v 3 stavkih

Variacije — Jaga — Molitev — Andantino — Valček — Etuda — Koračnica.

22.00: Napovedi, poročila.

Konec ob 22.20.

BEOGRAD 437.3-686 20 kw

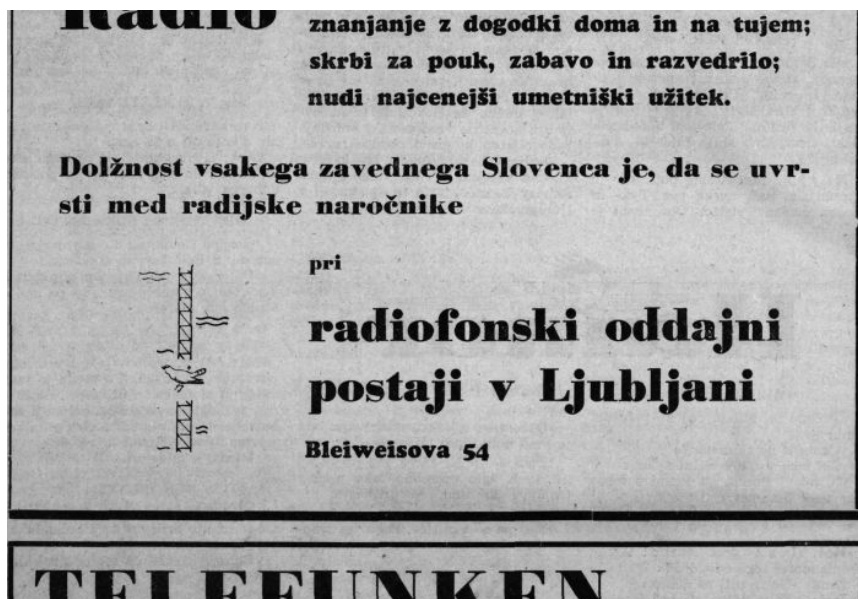
6 Budnica. 6.04 ● vojaške godbe. 6.30 Narodni izreki. 6.45 ●. 6.50 Zdravstveni nasveti. 6.55 Nadaljevanje ●. 7.45 ●.

11.30 Napovedi. Objave, nato ● zabavne gl. 11.50 ● o vodah. 12 Zvonjenje, nato ● narodnih pesmi. 12.30 Dvoški: skil. (○). 13 Pevski ●. 13.50 Koncert vojaške godbe. 14.40 ●. 17.05 Reportaža. 17.25 Operne arije. 18.30 Narodne pesmi. 19.10 ●. 19.25 Nacionalna ura. 19.40 Prenos ● za delavce. 21 Koncert komorne glasbe. 21.40 ●. 22 Simfonična gl. (○). 22.40 ●. 22.50 Plesna glasba.

R. O. RADIJSKI ORKESTER KONCERT POROČILA PLOŠČE 17

Example 7. Advertisement from *Radio Ljubljana* booklet, 1941, 13/15: 26.

“Radio: the cheapest and fastest medium for getting acquainted with the events at home and abroad; it takes care of instructions, fun and entertainment; it offers the cheapest artistic enjoyment. It is the duty of every conscious Slovene to subscribe to the radio with Radiophonic Transmission Station in Ljubljana, Bleiweisova 54.”



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Леон Стефанија

РАДИО ЛЈУБЉАНА И ЊЕГОВЕ МУЗИЧКЕ ПОЛИТИКЕ 1928–1941.

(Резиме)

Почеци емитовања Радио Љубљане у јесен 1928. године донели су дугорочне новине у пракси музичке продукције и репродукције у Словенији. Радио је, између осталог, увео нов начин слушања музике, а променио је и очекивања слушалаца, што се показало убрзо након почетка емитовања и у самом програмском структурирању емисија. Музички програм је био концептиран прагматички, вођен великим идеализмом десничарске политике католичке Просветне звезде, која је за 15 година закупила у најам емитовање Радио Љубљане.

Креирање програма Радио Љубљане пратиле су како економске и техничке, тако и културне потешкоће, почев од премалог броја музичара и техничке опреме, до напетости међу различитим становиштима и укуси (не само у вези с музиком) око питања – која је главна мисија новог медија. Током друге половине тридесетих година и до уништења одашиљача Радија Љубљана у Домжалама 11. априла 1941, креирање програма се променило од примарно едукативног усмерења према ономе намењеном забави. Програм се ослањао на класификацију Ника Курета, који се залагао да се програм подели на: 1. *Едукативне садржаје*, 2. *Музику*, 3. *Забаву*, 4. *За младе* и 5. *Пропагандни програм*. Шта је значила та петострука подела за музички програм институције која је почела свој рад са идејом да буде прави „народни универзитет”? Анализа указује на четири механизма музичког програмирања током тридесетих година, који су опредељени опозицијама: жива музика / музика са грамофонских плоча, национална / интернационална музика, класична / модерна, уметничка / забавна музика. Ти елементарни концепти се међусобно допуњују и могу се сматрати подједнако важним и у данашње време. Прилог се завршава кратком аналогijом између међуратног периода и периода после 1991. године.

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